775 /1096 cont./

of a future good or bad existence or of the presence of a spirit in man, which survives the body." In the first part he is right; in the second he contradicts himself.

reported: "They believe in the immortality of the soul" /cited in English/. This is actually the case, and it is not worthwhile to consider contrary opinions.

774 Furthermore, the Yamana believe that the spirit-beings have unlimited freedom of movement, so to speak. During sleep, above all in dreams, the këipif leaves the body temporarily and goes elsewhere. Spencer:101 also mentions: "When dreaming, the spirit goes out of him" /cited in English/. In this connection it is worth noting that the këipif, after such a leave-taking, must be anchored to the body anew, as it were, by means of a ceremonial act, usually by a yëkamus. This will be explained later. Several times my attention was called to an important distinction: "While someone is dreaming, his këipif merely goes for a walk, and of course soon returns, but if a person dies, Watauinëwa takes the këipif away and will not permit it to reunite with the body." When the Yamana say, "One cannot see a spirit-being, simply because it is këipif," they mean: it is not corporeal, for only something corporeal is visible to the eye. Nevertheless they admit that such a spirit-being can occasionally make itself visible, but they do not explain this in detail. Once I asked: "If my brother has been dead for a long time and then I, too, die, will my këipif meet that of my brother, will it see him and be able to communicate with him?" In reply I was told: "We do not know that. We are completely /1096/ ignorant about how the këipif behave over there." If the Yamana wish to explain their own vague idea about the existence of a këipif, all they can say is: "It is something like the breath or the air that comes out of one's mouth."

775 It seems to me that their view of the derivation and origin of the human soul is not entirely clear. In a vague way they admit that the Supreme Being plays a decisive role, namely, that the soul of the newborn child comes from him, whereas the body of the child owes its origin to its parents (34). Common

34. Spencer:100 says: "How born child gets

/1099 cont./

T15 828 The Yamana say nothing about future retribution, which is logical in view of the general uncertainty about the fate of the human soul after death. They do, however, definitely separate their countrymen into good and bad. I said to them: "Many people are hard-working and diligent, honest and good. They are always that way, whereas some are indolent and lazy." Their answer was: "The Yamana learn in the *tekenaa* how they should conduct their lives, what is proper for a decent human being. Each person, when he was an *alwakala*, promised faithfully to carry out what the old people recommended. That is why these people work for themselves and their family, they care for their relatives, they give part of their booty to neighbors, they are good people and easy to get along with. But besides that there are also bad people. They are lazy and burdensome gossips; they no longer remember what was taught them in the *tekenaa* and what they promised there; they no longer pay any attention to what the Yamana practice. That is why we despise them. Everyone lets them go their own way and holds himself aloof from them. Their fate soon overtakes those sloths and gossips. *Watashiwa* lets them die prematurely! There are good and bad human beings. A bad human being behaves badly simply because he is bad; a good human being behaves well because it is his nature to be good. Whether the *shipit* of these people will be the same afterwards [after death]? That we do not know!" It is clear from all this that the Yamana do not know the condition of the soul after death. They view an untimely death as a punishment which serves more or less as adequate atonement for various errors, so that probably the necessary penance has been made.

T15 Our Fuegians, finally, are just as vague about a definite place of abode of the *shipit*. The two statements of Bridges (a): 111 and (b):138 are justified: "They have no thoughts of a future state, either of reward or punishment /cited in English/.... They do not fear a future life or cherish hopes beyond the grave" /translated from Spanish/. The general opinion is that "they go far away beyond the sea." This particular expression is repeated again and again. Richard asserted what other /1100/ people confirmed: "The *shipit* go far out to sea, there where the many *alwala* /killer whale/ are. The *shipit* stay near them and sometimes come with

/1096 cont./

787 but will relate his dream. It is not regarded as unusual for
154 someone who is suddenly awakened in the middle of the night
by a vivid dream to wake up his family and tell them about it.
A yêkenuf may even call out to all the neighboring huts from
his bed and announce to the people what he just experienced in
a dream, although this is generally without any significance to
outsiders. It will be explained below how much the yêkenuf
pursue their calling in dreams. The Tanimas believe that the
•[illegible] very frequent dream images come by themselves to ordinary
people, and everyone is very much concerned about them /1197/
(360).

360. Hyades (a):253 says briefly: "Dreams are frequent, but in general no one seems to attribute any meaning or importance to them" /translated from French/. Only the first part of this statement is correct.

787 Everyone attributes more or less importance to a dream, depending on its content, the person's temperament, and given circumstances. There is no rule or any sort of criterion; the individual attaches more significance to one dream and less to another according to his own feeling and judgment. A person will be more vividly concerned and more excited by something that touches him directly or threatens him with grave consequences than by unimportant and insignificant everyday things. Everyone who hears about a dream accepts without contradiction the dreamer's interpretation of it. No one would ever dare minimize in any way or even reject the interpretation of a dream given by the one who experienced it and who evaluates it according to his own judgment. Anyone who is extremely disturbed about a dream turns to a yêkenuf, who, for his part, will always confirm the seriousness of the whole matter and will usually prepare at once to ward off the harm threatened in the dream.

There is no doubt, therefore, that the Tanimas believe implicitly in the dreams which agitate and alarm them (361).

361. Bridges (1):14 has reliably declared: "The Tahgans had great faith in dreams

/1310 cont./

also lighted a signal fire and notified the group on the opposite shore that a dance would soon be sung here. From each of the two shores a canoe carrying messengers set out without delay to bring the news to the opposite shore. The two canoes met in the middle of the channel, and the people of one told the people of the other: "Our yékamuf has just died, his brother killed him!" Soon all the people knew what had happened and that those two yékamuf were equally capable.

The power of the medicine man also reaches out beyond the boundaries of his own home. It overpowers Europeans, as was shown in the case of Bridges (p. 1304), and the neighboring Selk'nam according to Clara who told the following story in March, 1933. Once several Tamasa were camping near Puerto Harberton. Not far from them a number of Selk'nam had erected their hut. When they saw the Tamasa there, they stepped out and began making fun of them. The Tamasa felt insulted, but did not dare attack the others. Finally a yékamuf said: "I shall inflict harm upon them!" Without being observed he buried a yékaf against the last one of those Selk'nam who were retreating into the hut. The next morning when this man awoke he was blind in one eye. Later, when he started to walk a short distance, he fell over dead. That is how quickly the yékaf of that medicine man took effect. -- All the people present confirmed this incident and were convinced that it was the plain truth.

Sufficient proof that the yékamuf themselves believe in their ability has now been cited. They are convinced that their dreams and the things they undertake in the dream state have reality, that their influence on natural forces brings about the desired result. Whenever someone requests help from a friendly yékamuf, the latter usually begin working at it without delay. If he should not attain the desired goal immediately, he will repeat his efforts a second and a third time. The whole neighborhood gratefully acknowledges each success and the fulfillment of each wish, above all the person who obtained the greatest benefit. Thus it would be utterly unjust and false to call the medicine man a deceiver and swindler (336). After all, he has

336. Bove (p.)335 pronounces this unfair judgment without any qualifications. He

/1407 cont./

It is well known that the yékamuĭ carry out their works in a dream, as it is commonly said, which means a vivid imagination or auto-suggestion, a lively weaving of fantasies. It is maintained that the yékamuĭ loses his own personality and that it is replaced by his spirit, namely, the héipix or yeŭčel-xéqla that belongs to him. The latter carries out what the yékamuĭ is trying to do or wishes. The yékamuĭ is most closely united with his yeŭčel "in the dream." Therefore, it is of decisive importance for him to be able to put himself quickly and effortlessly into the dream state. Every apprentice is supposed to acquire this art above all in the héima-yékamuĭ. He observes the experienced masters present, who, after singing briefly, succeed in being completely absent mentally while sitting there; they have lost their own personalities. Either they slump over and remain motionless, as though sleeping, or they move the upper part of the body gently back and forth, singing softly, their heavy and half-closed eyes glazed and fixed on one point. The uŭwialéxamuĭ imitates all this; the old people watch him, but give no definite instructions. He himself does not say whether his power of imagination has increased and his fantasies are more vivid. It is not until later that ordinary people discover his skill, after the uŭwialéxamuĭ has begun to practice independently.

Every yékamuĭ has the power of invoking his own guardian spirit and any other spirit with his singing. During the asikáku the yeŭčel-xéqla gives the man his /1408/ song. When the chosen one has adopted this song and made it his own, he has the key which gives him admission to the realm of the spirits, for the personal guardian spirit, above all, listens to this song and sooner or later puts himself at the disposal of his protégé. The Yamana now maintain that it is not really the yékamuĭ who sings, but his yeŭčel. In other words, the yékamuĭ starts the song given him by the yeŭčel, but in a short time the yeŭčel takes it over and carries it on for a long time. Finally the yeŭčel withdraws from the dream image of his yékamuĭ and the latter wakes up. These songs are very simple melodies on a single tone or melodies with an added interval of a third or fourth at the beginning or the end. The syllables héiyang héiyang héi are repeated to these melodies, or héi yé yé, or finally haiéin wagéin haréin and similar variations.

/1430 cont./

X 756 776 781 long since subdued me, I must die!" That is the way such a man will talk. Sure enough, Haučéllakipa draws him down to her under the earth; his kěšpiš remains married to her forever and his earthly body dies. In the same way a [male] Haučélla bewitches a Yamana woman, until she, too, falls completely into his power. A yékamuš realizes perfectly what is happening between one of our people and /1431/ the Haučélla. He must free a person in time from the power of those evil earth spirits or the person will surely die.

X 756 ● 829 776 781 Mašemikens added the following to the above description: As a young man I traveled with my cousin south through the Molinare Channel. He was involved with a Haučélla without admitting it to himself. He had not eaten anything for several days. Although I offered him something to eat several times, he did not take anything. He always replied: "I have no desire to eat! I don't know what is happening to me!" We passed a place where we found many birds' eggs. My cousin did not eat anything. As we traveled on I suddenly realized: my cousin is under the spell of a Haučélla! After we had traveled on for some time, he leaped up in the forward part of the canoe and cried apprehensively: "A threatening storm is coming up!" I replied: "Not at all! We are having wonderful, calm weather!" He was completely out of his mind. When we reached Arákuwělla, my cousin ordered: "Light a big fire! She is approaching and bringing many axíya [round crabs] with her." I did as he asked, and soon he again ordered: "Make the fire bigger. She is considerably vexed by the cold!" I was speechless. Then my cousin cried: "Now she is here and is seizing me!" Instantly I picked up a stick and beat the air all around my cousin. Gradually he calmed down; we lay down and went to sleep. Since my cousin was feeling better the next morning, we rowed to Ilakěteyíka. Having arrived there, we landed. Full of despair he said to me: "Let me warn you! -- I must soon die." In my anxiety I again seized a stick and beat the Haučéllakipa close beside my cousin. She, however, escaped under the hut wall and out into the open. My cousin immediately hurried after her and cried longingly: "My wife is running away!" After he had gone a few steps he collapsed and was dead.